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PROSPECTS FOR THE CHINESE COMMUNIST COMPOSITE PROGRAM

PART II

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PROSPECTS FOR THE CHINESE COMMUNIST COMPOSITE PROGRAM

PART II

The Chinese Communist press has shown that the capitalists and intellectuals, problems though they might be for the Chinese Communist regime, were long established as assets which it would be necessary to use in solving the gigantic problems faced by the party as it strove toward its ambitious industrialization goals; thus the regime in 1956, feeling that the repressive movements of its first five years had sufficiently subdued the opposition spirit of these classes, began an attempt to bring them into full play in national construction. After initially encouraging freedom of interchange within the bounds of their professional fields, and expansion of memberships in their political organization, the regime took what proved to be a drastic step. In spring of 1957, in concert with the initiation of a major campaign to revitalize the Communist Party itself, it gave new impetus and a new slant to the program of stimulating the long dormant non-Communist scientists, educators, professional men, and industrialists. It offered them a degree of freedom of thought and expression not limited to their professional fields, and tied this closely in a joint program with the endeavor to overhaul the party bureaucracy. They were to discuss not only how to put education, industry, and scientific research on their feet, but also to criticize party cadres and the handling of government affairs.

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The spirit of optimism in which the spring program was launched is expressed in a speech which Liu Shao-ch'i of the politburo standing committee gave to the Eighth Party Congress, as reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 17 September 1956; he said, "The country is now united as it never was before. Through the carrying out of thorough democratic reforms, and the victory in the suppression of counterrevolutionaries; through our achievements in socialist transformation and the development of socialist construction; and also through other steps taken by the government, our society has achieved an unprecedented state of stability." The whole program proceeded from the ideological admission by the party that there were contradictions within a socialist society which had to be solved. A single capsule version of the ideological development behind the program, as variously presented by party leaders in speeches and by press editorials, might sound like this:

"With the basic completion of socialist revolution and socialist transformation, the class struggle has ended in the main, the bourgeoisie has become a part of the people, and the former antagonistic contradictions between classes have been supplanted by various non-antagonistic contradictions within the ranks of the people, which must be solved by peaceable, persuasive means."

On both the practical and the ideological aspects of this major move, the regime has since had to reverse itself almost completely. So swiftly that it had not even time to rationalize, after a month of near-unbelievable criticism of itself and of socialism in May, the party

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perceived that it was involved in a class struggle, and that with problems and grievances now surfaced it confronted "contradictions" which had become antagonistic indeed.

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

1. Class Struggle

On 11 June, while symposia of the democratic parties were still in session and when publication of criticisms in the press had not yet been stifled completely, the Peiping Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien-pao, organ of the Communist Youth League, announced: "Bourgeois thinking has not been thoroughly defeated, but is a social reality which is continually in conflict with proletarian thought...The class struggle has not subsided but rather has taken on a different form, and the party rectification campaign is now a complex ideological struggle...What we are now involved in is an ideological storm...Rightists are struggling against proletarian thought and attacking the party and the working class." And Mao Tse-tung, in a careful reversal of all previous commentary on his February speech, phrased it this way in the version of it published in Jen-min Jih-pao, 19 June: "Though the violent, large-scale class struggles waged by the masses which were characteristic of the revolutionary period have ended, in the main, the class struggle is not completely over."

Then, opening the 1957 session of the National People's Congress, which was used to halt the pell mell progress of the Chinese people

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into the "new phase" of socialism, Chou En-lai, in a speech in Jen-min Jih-pao of 27 June, established in no uncertain terms the official corrections to the ideological concept which the regime had earlier worked so hard to get across. "When we state that the socialist revolution has been fundamentally victorious and that the violent, large-scale class struggles conducted by the masses have ended in the main, this does not mean the class struggle has ended. When we raise the question of contradictions among the ranks of the people, this does not mean there remain no contradictions between us and the enemy." He pointed out that classes still exist, since the persons who once comprised the classes which had been eliminated as such still partly retained their class ideologies. "Within the frame of the contradictions among the people," he said, "there still persists the antagonistic character of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class, and there is still a severe class struggle...There is both an ideological and political struggle in this rectification campaign, and in the process of correctly dealing with contradictions among the people we must under no circumstances ingnore the class struggle or the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy." Chou qualifies by saying that while the latter contradictions exist, the number of enemies in the country has greatly reduced, thus bringing contradictions among the people to the forefront. But it is not impossible for one type of contradiction to turn into the other. "Some individuals who are among the people now could become enemies if they persist in their anti-socialist positions" Chou warned.

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By 12 July, near the end of this congress, the party was planning for the future. The Jen-min Jih-pao of that day carried a further development of this theme by party propaganda chief Lu Ting-yi, from his speech to the congress: "Socialist society is a transitional period to Communist society, and it requires this long transitional period for the legacy of the exploiting classes to be gradually wiped out. In a socialist society the class struggle still continues--a struggle as serious as the Hungarian affair has even taken place--as does the world-wide struggle with imperialism as well...It is certain that the class struggle in our country will be long, and sometimes it will take a very active form...The frenzied rightist attacks show that our work in ideological remolding in the past has been crude in some respects, that it has been insufficient, and not well done."

At the end of the month, the Jen-min Jih-pao of 26 July described the developing struggle in terms of Shanghai. "The struggle of the people of Shanghai against the rightist bourgeoisie has continued for a month and a half now. This political struggle, which was incited by the rightists themselves, has been of unparalleled fury and complexity. It is mounting increasingly and going deeply into all occupations and professions. Greater and greater numbers of people here, in what was once China's most highly developed capitalist city, are coming to the defense of socialist achievements against the rightist bourgeois attacks."

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The significance and urgency of the situation was underlined in a speech to the Peiping People's Congress by Peng Chen, member of the politburo and mayor of Peiping, as reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 7 August. He said that China was involved in "a great political and ideological fight between capitalism and socialism, which will affect the destiny of the 600 million people of China and the social development of the whole country. It is a struggle of historical and international significance, and socialism cannot triumph if we do not win it."

The Chinese Communist press leaves the impression that the party is surrounded now on every hand by either enmity or apathy, and is acting quickly and on a broad scale to carry the struggle to all areas and levels of the country. Jen-min Jih-pao of 26 July stated, "At first many of the "neutral" people were unprepared and completely confused. Before it could gradually pull them into the struggle, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee had to hold many meetings and symposia, involving thousands of people of all strata, especially the intellectuals, to discuss over and over again the differences between the Communists and the rightists and to impress on them the importance of the campaign. The committee has always regarded the mobilization and winning over of the "neutral masses" as one of its most important tasks. It dispatched individual officials from various party organizations to visit them and to hear their views. In the struggle in Shanghai, full exposure of rightists, thoroughgoing political-ideological criticism, and effective mobilization of the "neutral masses" have brought the rightists to submit to the people and admit their crimes."

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The struggle appears to involve not only the re-established traditional "enemies", capitalists, intellectuals, and students, but now also a cross section of classes which would seem to leave the party little to depend on outside its own ranks and less than it would like within them, namely, the peasants, the workers, and many party members themselves.

2. Workers

The Peiping labor organ, Kung-jen Jih-pao of 8 August revealed the infection in the factories. "The workers are a progressive class," it said, "and most of them think progressively, but due to inadequate educational work among them in the past, some did not achieve a thorough understanding of the political situation in the country, and of their own class' true strength. The result has been some misunderstanding among the workers. At the same time workers have been influenced by the erroneous ideology of capitalism. New factory workers and mine workers have brought in with them a lot of non-working class ideologies."

On 13 August the Kung-jen Jih-pao revealed some unpalatable developments in the trade unions. Rightists in the unions had suggested the trade unions become democratic parties, and be elevated to the same level as and begin mutual supervision with the Communist Party. Such opinions, it said, only strain the party-trade union relationship and tend to weaken party leadership of the working class. Rightists want to destroy working class unity and to dull the weapons it uses in

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the revolutionary struggle. Such ideas are wrong and are opposed to the party and socialism; they do harm to the interests of the working class. The real needs and interests of the class, it said, coincide perfectly with party leadership of the operation of the trade unions. Opinions and activities which oppose this leadership interfere with working class progress. The paper warned workers to maintain a strong stand through the anti-rightist struggle and to participate in it.

Jen-min Jih-pao of 9 August reported that a great struggle was taking place in ten cities of Liaoning Province, among engineers, technicians and employees of all state-owned factories and mines. Rightists were being singled out and isolated among the masses of workers and employees, who were receiving a real class education in the course of the struggle. It said that rightists brought to light in these enterprises felt class hatred of the party, were political careerists, or were secret agents of the Kuomintang.

3. Peasants

"The worker-peasant alliance is the foundation for the people's democratic dictatorship and the democratic united front. More than five-sixths of our population are farmers. Without this alliance with them, it would be impossible to achieve socialism. During the long revolutionary struggles our party established flesh and blood relationships with them, and since the establishment of the People's Republic we have further strengthened these relations...The peasantry has assumed the important position in the national political life which is its due.

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Almost all working personnel in the rural state organs are peasants." Thus spoke Liu Shao-ch'i at the Eighth Party Congress, as reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 17 September 1956.

But while the class struggle was proceeding in the cities in the form of outspoken political and ideological heresy and in party counterattacks, in the Chinese countryside it was manifesting itself in other forms, and on a significant scale to judge by the press. The 29 July Jen-min Jih-pao observed: "Rural conditions demonstrate that although the major task in rural work today is the correct handling of contradictions among the people, yet the class struggle has not been eliminated, and in some localities is still very sharp. We must be skillful, therefore, in separating contradictions which are among the people from those between the enemy and ourselves, and must determinedly suppress the enemy in his sabotage activities...There is a spontaneous, expanding trend toward capitalism among the upper middle peasants." It states that they favor only democracy and are against any centralism in the management of cooperatives, demand the right to retain all surplus grain, and ask for fulfillment of personal needs before those of the state.

"The anti-Communist, anti-socialist winds of the cities have blown to the countryside of Hupeh," the Jen-min Jih-pao of 29 July editorialized. It stated that landlords, rich peasants, and counter-revolutionaries had started rumors, attacked cadres and the masses in attempts to pull down the cooperatives. It said that one landlord,

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having listened to rightist statements, started the rumor that "the time has come for liberation," and refused to pay the share capital he owed his cooperative. Another told the people that "The Communist party will fall and the Kuomintang will come." He held secret meetings and planned the assassination of the hsiang head, the party branch secretary, and the hsiang cadres. A few upper middle peasants also, misled by these people, seized the opportunity to attack the cooperatives. One spread the rumor that the cooperatives had established "offices for withdrawal from the cooperatives." Another upper middle peasant, who for two years had failed to pay his agricultural tax or sell his surplus grain, convened 18 peasant families and mishandled the party branch secretary, shouting "down with the cooperatives." In some areas old-style upper middle peasants withdrew from their cooperatives. One landlord, it said, even planned to seize control of a cooperative, starting a movement among members to elect him as director.

The periodical Cheng-chih Hsueh-hsi (Political Study) of 13 June carries an article which observes that between poor peasants and middle peasants contradictions are growing sharper, and discusses how to correctly deal with these. It demonstrates some concern for the middle peasants, maintaining that they must be given more assistance and that more attention should be paid to their suggestions. It is important that middle peasants be better consolidated and given more political education, it says, and ties in all these observations with the need

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to increase agricultural production. Jen-min Jih-pao of 29 July mentions a phenomenon which has had considerable mention in the press: landlords' reckoning up of old accounts with peasants. It quotes one as saying, "Before liberation you paid me only 50 tan of grain in land rent. Now you must pay tax and sell surplus grain to a total of over 100 tan. Now which is better, the landlord or the Communist Party?" This reckoning up of old scores is reported to take the form sometimes of expropriation of land, houses, cattle, etc., by rich peasants.

"They spread reactionary ideas everywhere, desperately attacking the party and trying to pull down its leadership and destroy the cooperatives," the Jen-min Jih-pao of 25 July complained. "Some rumored that there was chaos in the unified purchase and marketing of grain. Others held that the living standards of peasants since liberation had not risen at all, and exploited the contradictions between the cooperative members and the state in the matter of grain, claiming that big cooperatives were to blame for the small share of grain distributed. Some openly denounced cooperative cadres, blaming them for shipping grain away to other places. One advocated overthrowing the Communist Party by first overthrowing the director of the cooperative."

The Jen-min Jih-pao on 6 August reprinted a Changsha Hsin Hunan Pao article which revealed that speculation in grain had been reported in all areas and had brought chaos to the grain market. Private merchants had dealt in grain or exchanged commodities for it with peasants. Peasants had sold their food grain or their unified

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procurement grain and then requested grain from the state to make up the shortage. Some had forged or bought and sold grain marketing certificates, grain tickets, etc. Others had bought state grain speculatively. The Jen-min Jih-pao of the same date observed elsewhere that all this was an attempt to create discord between worker and peasant and to upset the relationship between town and country, so as to bring back the free capitalist grain market. Upper middle peasants, it said, were keeping excess grain rather than selling it and other produce to the state.

The 7 August Jen-min Jih-pao reported that private trade in grain had also been engaged in by whole cooperatives as units. It gave the example of a Honan cooperative which sent most of its customary production of 24,000 catties of hemp to other localities for sale, keeping only 400 catties for sale to the supply and marketing cooperative. It also bought hemp on the market for resale to other areas, and even induced members to purchase from relatives or friends. It sent representatives to twenty of the large cities to sign supply contracts with various enterprises. It had made its transactions in the daytime and shipped by night, using militiamen to convoy shipments. It also made joint shipment with other cooperatives in the area. In addition, the article said, the cooperative cheated the state by passing off inferior goods to it. It had earned a gross profit of over 20,000 yuan.

In an editorial on the same date Jen-min Jih-pao observed: "If we allow speculation to develop we relinquish socialism's position

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to capitalism, and make possible the spread of the disease of capitalism once more. It has infected a number of cooperatives in Szechwan, Shantung, and Kwangsi, which have conducted various kinds of commercial speculation...Once they have taken the capitalist road of speculation, these cooperatives will become indifferent to the state's interests... when the state's interests clash with those of the individual peasant or cooperative the latter will work for themselves. They do not understand that state interests are their own interests, and that undermining of the unified procurement will bring market price fluctuations that will greatly damage the state and do themselves no good. Without party leadership the cooperatives may develop into capitalist economic units or joint-stock corporations...If this trend continues, it will result in a new class stratification, with a few persons of means quickly growing wealthy and becoming another exploiting class."

The situation in the countryside may be further aggravated by the recently announced demobilization of a substantial number of servicemen. These are men who, in the armed forces, led a relatively easy life and enjoyed considerable prestige. The Peiping Chieh-fang Chun-pao, organ of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, advised on 24 January that only a few would be able to return to jobs in the cities; the vast majority would return to countryside homes to participate in agricultural production. However, cultured and technically trained comrades would find great opportunity there it said, though it admitted that some did not want to return because of the hard

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life led there. It urged them to be cooperative, modest, restrained, and polite, and to avoid conceit, jealousy, and lawlessness, and asked them not to consider themselves as of special merit because of their years of service. ¶ At the same time, many students, unable to resume their studies this year because of a shortage of facilities, are being sent to the rural cooperatives. Their expectations had been set high, as the press reveals, and it has assured them that agricultural cooperativization "has brought new tasks for the intellectuals;" but this, as also indicated by the press, is not calculated to melt their disappointment.

Possibly adding to the general rural restlessness and dissatisfaction as much as it will mitigate it, as intended, is this phenomenon, which has been in process in various provinces since the first of the year: "Leadership organs of Kwangtung Province are transferring large number of cadres to the rural areas to help local party organs and agricultural cooperatives with rural production and the consolidation of cooperatives. They will carry out a widespread campaign of education and propaganda on the present situation, to stimulate enthusiasm among the peasant masses for socialist construction and to bring about a high tide in production...Over 240 cadres have already been selected, more than half of whom are section chiefs and better. They will take a short course in cooperative policy before leaving." This appeared in the Canton Nan-fang Jih-pao, 22 January.

But the situation into which these cadres were sent is indicated in the next day's issues of the same paper. It reported that a

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number of cadres in rural areas had been dissatisfied with their work, but had become more active and had their "consciousness" raised through party readjustment work. "Many party members," it said, "realized the dangers in a working style which depended on commandism, and the advantages of utilizing the mass line, with a resultant improvement in contact between them and the masses. Many began to understand the relation between individual and collective interests...Some, previously discontented with rural work, changed greatly." And Ta Kung Pao of 31 May elaborated: "The complaint of food shortage by many peasants has actually been a sign of discontent with these cadres' working style."

4. Party Members

The most delicate and most telling facet of this class struggle as exhibited in the press is seen in accounts of its progress within the party itself. Jen-min Jih-pao of 28 July stated: "The revolutionary struggle on the political and ideological fronts is a critical political test for each party member. Each must now be put to the test of socialism. Some think rightists exist only outside the party...but this does not jibe with the facts. The anti-rightist struggle has surfaced many party rightists...The stand of some party members is definitely weak in this stern struggle. A few carry the label of party member but hold the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, turning traitor when the rightists attack...Some who join never propose to really serve it, but will betray the moment their own interests clash with those of the

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revolution. Some do not subscribe to the whole program of the party, and will betray when it puts into action the part with which they disagree. Others cannot keep contact with the masses over the long course of struggle and lose their revolutionary purpose; exposed to the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie they will betray at the important turn.

"We must take a stern stand on these party rightists and draw a strict line against them, ideologically and politically, waging a struggle against them. The few who feel we should be lenient and not deal them counterblows are wrong. We can be no more sentimental about them than about non-party rightists. A fort can be taken most readily from within, and will fall even when not attacked if the party core disintegrates and loses political leadership of the proletariat...Though rightists are but a small minority in the party and in many organizations there is not even one rightist, yet rightist thinking shows up to varying degrees in all problems, and those who waver upon the outbreak of any disturbance are not merely a small minority."

Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien-pao of 23 July, in discussing the degeneration into rightism of a party committee member in Tsinghua University, asks, "How can a veteran party member and participant in the revolution for 20 years turn rightist?" The answer, it says, is in the roots of bourgeois individualism. It may seem impossible that one educated by the party for so long could make reactionary speeches, but

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Marxist-Leninist thought always has a class character and party spirit, requiring loyalty to the working class and the broad masses, it explains. Hence political consciousness cannot be acquired from books on Marxism-Leninism alone. Only those truly loyal to the revolution can take a true class stand. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien-pao of 2 August states, "Rightism is also to be found in the Communist Youth League, and it is not confined to individuals. League rightists are extremely reactionary politically and ideologically, and hate the party and socialism. They share the trait of continually spreading their corrupt bourgeois rightist ideology among the rest of the youth, and thus are in competition with the party to win the youth over. The result is the League is transformed into a vanguard in opposition to the Communist Party. Thus the rightists within the League are spokesmen for the bourgeois class, and agents of internal decay in its organizations. We must struggle against them to purge the Communist Youth League of bourgeois rightist influences and to preserve its purity. It is a struggle in defense of Marxism-Leninism, a struggle being waged between two causes."

Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien-pao of 14 August revealed in an editorial that rightist cadres exist not only in lower level organizations of the Communist Youth League, but also at the provincial and municipal levels, and that there are even some in the leadership of organs directly under the League central committee. They are few, it says, but their positions of authority and their consequent ability to conduct rightist activities in the name of the League makes them a more serious threat to the party and the League than other League rightists.

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At the same time, the peasant cut of the Chinese Communist Party's clothes was showing up embarrassingly in the rural areas. "There are even some party members and cadres," said the 10 August Jen-min Jih-pao, "including certain hsien-level personnel, who do not recognize the class struggle in the countryside, and fail to staunchly uphold socialism in the face of it. They are mistakenly individualist and sectionalist when it comes to such problems as the relationship of food to the future of socialism. Some have a hands-off attitude toward activities of bad elements who disrupt order and undermine the socialist legal system, rather than take action against them." Jen-min Jih-pao of 5 August comments: "Some hsiang and cooperative cadres consider only minor, immediate benefits for the local peasants, and forget their long-range interests and those of the state. They cooperate to conceal production, declare low incomes, and exaggerate food-grain shortages so their hsiangs and cooperatives will have to sell less surplus grain and will receive more food-grain supply...Cadres on the hsien level and below are very shortsighted as to the purposes of cooperativization, thinking its aim is to provide everyone with more food to eat...They regard restriction of consumption of grain in the interests of the state as a whole as unfair to the peasants." It asserts that the food problem is a thorough, practical test for every cooperative member and cadre, and will indicate who really supports socialism and his country. Comrades who feel the contradiction between tasks of the state and needs of the masses cannot be resolved, overlook the fact that it is a state led by the working class, and the interests of the greatest majority

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lies in the building of socialism. It expresses the hope that all party members and authorities will become active in the food-grain problem, and set an example to the masses in controlling consumption and increasing sale of surplus to the state.

Jen-min Jih-pao of 29 July reported that landlords had in some cases taken advantage of the confused class concepts and rightist leanings of cadres and used them against the peasants. One had been duped into preparing certificates for 41 landlords for the return of houses confiscated during land reform, while another had assisted a landlord in requesting that a government agency pay him shop rent. It traced the rightist weakening of cadres in the face of the class enemy to relaxation after the high tide of cooperativization, and carelessness in the reclassification of the three categories of people so that they could join cooperatives. In one hsien, for example, 40 percent of the landlords had their class status changed for this purpose. Cadres felt the class divisions had disappeared and the class struggle had ended, and were confused in trying to distinguish class enemy sabotage from contradictions among the people.

5. Socialist Revolution

The inevitable reassessment in the light of these events has been made, and during July a fundamental step was apparently taken in the direction of readjusting the whole concept and policy which Mao advanced in February.

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Back in April, the periodical Cheng-chih Hsueh-hsi No. 4 had stated: "A fundamental change in the social character of China has been brought about by the victories in the democratic and socialist revolutions and that of socialist construction." The change was the end of the class struggle and the emergence of a new main problem on which China was to concentrate: the building of an advanced industrial nation. But with the class struggle now obviously very much alive, the later conclusion was that the country was now involved in a very different and very familiar main problem. This was announced with none of the fanfare which had characterized the entry into the "new phase" of socialism in spring.

The key formulation, which appeared repeatedly in speeches and editorials, including one in the 20 July Jen-min Jih-pao, was: "This is a great socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts." The editorial explained, "Socialism cannot be stablized through mere socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production; it requires also a socialist revolution on these other two fronts. Without a political and ideological victory in the socialist revolution, there can be no socialism. This political and ideological socialist revolution involves everyone in the country, and puts everyone to the socialist test. The leader and organizer of this revolutionary struggle is the Chinese Communist Party." The Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien-pao of 29 July observed that a decisive battle of the minds had not yet been fought on capitalism versus socialism, and that ideological consciousness had fallen behind the basic change in the economy. Thus a battle against

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bourgeois thought, and the carrying out of a socialist revolution in politics and ideology is necessary, it said.

The officialization of this significant ideological development which reversed the party's previously established position and by which it backtracked to the status as before the Eighth Party Congress of a year ago, was made by party propaganda chief Lu Ting-yi at a meeting of Peiping teachers, as reported by Jen-min Jih-pao of 17 August, in which he reiterated the formulation in the above 28 July editorial, and by Politburo member Peng Te-huai, in a speech on the 30th anniversary of the People's Liberation Army. He stated, as carried in the 1 August Jen-min Jih-pao; "We are in a new historical period, in which the socialist revolution in the country has won a decisive victory as to the ownership of the means of production, but where there is still a fierce struggle on the political and ideological fronts...Political and ideological struggle will continue for a long while both here and abroad, and non-proletarian ideologies, especially bourgeois ideology, will attack us from all sides, so it is important that we deepen our education in Marxism-Leninism, and increase our political vigilance." The Jen-min Jih-pao on 16 August further elaborated on the pronouncement, maintaining that this struggle was an unavoidable one during the country's transition, and that it would determine the future of China, thus it should not stop half-way. If the political-ideological leadership of the proletariat were not definitely established, the victory of the socialist revolution could not be complete. In fact, it said, toleration of hostility to

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socialism and the proletarian dictatorship would endanger the socialist ownership of the means of production already achieved.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION

The party's immediate answer and the first significant step in the re-launching of socialist revolution as revealed in the press, is an all-embracing program of "socialist education" in which every level of society and every occupational group will undergo the political and ideological indoctrination which the party now feels it did not administer thoroughly enough in the past. The party has taken to the hustings in rural villages and cooperatives, in factories, and in universities, where thousands of cadres of all levels have gone to conduct what the party press refers to as "the great nation-wide debate." Jen-min Jih-pao of 26 July states: "The form of the struggle is no longer that of the mass counter-attack applied at the inception of the movement, but has evolved into a more penetrating and thorough criticism. Organizations are now adopting the form of meetings for persuasion and debate. Futan and other universities have had good results from such debate meetings, in which the subject is the views of the rightists and during which the rightists defend themselves."

1. The Workers

The Kung-jen Jih-pao of 8 August summed up the need, saying that it is important to conduct a socialist education campaign among workers and staff members in enterprises, by mobilizing them to take

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part in the anti-rightist struggle. It states that there is no doubt such an extensive drive will bring about self-education of the workers and raise their political awareness.

Accordingly, conferences have been held to discuss the problem of democracy and centralism, and of freedom and discipline, in order to teach younger workers to distinguish between right and wrong, according to Jen-min Jih-pao of 1 August. This socialist education has produced a keener interest in production, it said, with the result that production goals in many units have been overfulfilled. The few workers who have been dissatisfied with welfare conditions have now decided to drop the problem for the time being and to struggle against rightists. The education is emphasizing the idea that "socialism is a high tower that must be built from the bottom, and that welfare must be achieved gradually."

Jen-min Jih-pao of 1 August also reported that in Kirin workers and employees of industrial enterprises were receiving a penetrating class education in the struggle against rightist elements there. They had begun "reasoning struggles" with those identified as rightists in various units. Party committees were reporting mistaken rightist statements to the workers and stressing the importance of counterattack. Following such reports, workers call meetings and conferences, which are the main form of the class education. The paper observes that "The role played by the older workers in worker self-education is especially

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noteworthy. Meetings of these workers are held in all units, where the older workers point out that socialism under party leadership is the only correct road for the Chinese people, present personal experiences, and compare the new society with the old." To influence the workers, the paper said, reports, speeches, blackboard news, broadcasts, and drawings are used. Workers re-examine their previous erroneous thought, and soldiers demobilized for industrial work apologize for demands they have made for high pay, welfare benefits, and housing space. Workers in symposia write letters of resolution to support party leadership with deeds, and to protect socialist construction. Thus, it concludes, the class education is a force which impels upward the movement to increase production and practice economy.

Central Committee Secretary Li Hsueh-feng, in a speech reported by Peiping NCNA on 21 August, stated a great debate would being in industrial enterprises, on the subject of the two roads. It would stress the leading position of the working class, and resolve personal problems of the workers such as the relation between welfare and production, democracy and centralism, the individual and the collective, and the worker and the peasant. "Through this debate," he said, "We must purify the workers on the basis of a purified working class ideology."

2. The Peasants

As to the peasantry, who constitute over 80 percent of the population, the Jen-min Jih-pao on 10 August in a long editorial spoke as follows: "We must now carry out widespread socialist education among

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the rural masses, to consolidate socialism and overcome capitalist tendencies...The process of gradual consolidation which the cooperatives are undergoing may take a long time, during which we must conduct a struggle on both the economic and the political-ideological fronts...We must educate the vast majority of cooperative members to become enthusiastic about their socialist motherland and the efforts of their cooperatives, to become more socially conscious and freer from capitalist influence, and to become active in the struggle against the bad elements who try to destroy socialist endeavors...In areas where socialism's ideological struggle against capitalism was neglected, the anti-socialist forces emerged and became recklessly active. Landlords and rich farmers are still undergoing reform, and it will take a long time to transform them phpychologically and actively into socialist workers." Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien-pao of 12 August states that the decision of the party to conduct socialist education in the rural areas is only the beginning of a movement to intensify political work in these areas.

Editorializing in the 7 August issue, Jen-min Jih-pao points out that to strengthen party leadership over the cooperatives so they can proceed along the socialist road, it will first be necessary to conduct a thoroughgoing education of rural party members in socialism and patriotism, and to heighten their class consciousness. Their one-sided view that everything which benefits some of the masses is good must be criticized in both party and government organs.

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"The general task," said the Jen-min Jih-pao of 5 August, "is to apply criticism to the erroneous thinking prevelant among the peasantry and the rural cadres. First to be criticized should be the individualism which ignores the needs of the state, a trait ingrained in the peasant... We face the serious ideological work of explaining to them that placing personal and departmental interests above those of the state and socialism will result in the elimination of socialism, of party leadership, and of the future of the peasants themselves."

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3. Methods in the Countryside

The 10 August Jen-min Jih-pao reported the Central Committee directive which ordered that the countryside campaign of socialist education be initiated in the form of a "big debate." The subject of this debate, basically, will be "Whether to take the capitalist or the socialist path." It is designed to bring understanding to peasants and cooperative cadres on the right and wrong of fundamental questions which have emerged in the rural areas throughout China, and to explain the correctness of state policies on these questions. The main questions to be discussed are: 1) The superiority of cooperatives; 2) Control led purchase and marketing of farm products; 3) The worker-peasant relationship; and, 4) Suppression of counterrevolutionaries and compliance with laws. The debate will be conducted by working units sent by party committees into the villages and cooperatives to "strengthen criticism" of capitalist, individualist thinking among peasants, and to identify love of family with love of country and love of cooperative. It should include all members of the local population, and directive says, and should provide everyone with a chance for full expression of opinion. Erroneous ideas should be treated gently and persuasively, except for reactionary, provocative comments of landlords, rich peasants, and counterrevolutionaries, which should be counterattacked vigorously. It refers to the great debate as a "rectification in the countryside."

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In Kansu Province, 54,000 people of various government organs, mass organizations, and schools had been formed into a front which was engulfing 1,400 rightists in villages and factories in arguments at meetings, according to Jen-min Jih-pao of 5 August. The people are organized and cooperatives produce "hard facts" on economic and cultural development before and after liberation. The masses "take stock" of general achievements to date, and the superiority of the cooperatives is emphasized. The relation between peasants and workers is discussed, and the correctness of government purchase and collection of grain is shown. Activists compare the old days with today, and this is discussed, the article says. In Hupeh Province, according to Jen-min Jih-pao of 29 July, peasants were incited to expose and oppose the activities and statements of those who aimed at restoration of capitalism. One cooperative held a meeting to expose such absurd ideas, it said, and pointed out that the cooperative's director worked hard for it and its members, who were all payed according to their work. Members at the meeting argued against the statement by a landlord that the director was the owner and the members were his slaves. They brought up this landlord's past record, and forced him to confess his guilt. At one meeting, the higher living standard was advanced in refutation of those who praised the statements of rightist Ko Pei-chi. The masses agreed that the answer to these elements was in better production, it said.

Jen-min Jih-pao of 13 August told how thepeople of a hsiang in Shensi Province held a mass meeting to expose and condemn a rich

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farmer who had engaged in illegal grain transactions. After the masses demanded it, he was arrested by the hsien procurator's office.

4. Rural Results

Immediate grains which the party hopes to realize from this rural program lie in the area of a pressing, current need. Jen-min Jih-pao of 5 August states that with the intensification of ideological education in the countryside, the result will be a significant increase in the amount of food grain procured. In one hsiang in Shantung, it says, such education brought about a basic change in the people's attitude toward selling their surplus grain, and the local goal was overfulfilled, demonstrating the fact that a problem of ideology is involved in the question of food-grain. "When the people revert to capitalistic thinking," it says, "the problem becomes acute, but when they progress to socialism, the problem relaxes."

5. The Universities

In his speech to the National Peoples Congress, as reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 27 June, Chou En-lai pointed to the need for strengthening political and ideological education in the schools, which had been demonstrated by the events during the "great blooming." He especially emphasized the need for ideological remolding among the teachers, who are responsible for training the next generation. They should continue their own voluntary self-education, he said, but stated,

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"It is not easy to arm oneself with proletarian ideology and to take a strong stand in the midst of violent class struggle, to separate right from wrong, and to be able to lead students on the correct path." Teachers and educational departments at all levels, he said, must improve political and ideological education for students, basing it on the students' ideological status.

In a speech reported by Jen-min Jih-pao of 19 August, Politburo member K'ang Sheng announced the initiation of socialist education in the universities in the form of "a course in socialist ideological education within the curriculum." This course, he said, would differ from the regular extra-curricular methods of political education, which would be continued, in both content and form. It will be established in every year of higher education. "This course," he said, "will constitute a class education in the socialist revolutionary movement, and must not be thought of as an ordinary course in the curriculum. It is part of the rectification movement, of socialist education, and of the great nation-wide debate." It will stress criticism of bourgeois thought and the non-Marxist point of view through proletarian thought and Marxism-Leninism. He warned that teachers used to teaching Marxism-Leninism out of books might not be able to drop pedagogical methods easily and teach Marxism-Leninism in the class struggle, as would be necessary.

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PARTY RECTIFICATION

In this changed climate, then, what of the party's campaign to rectify the working style of its members, the core of the original composite program? The original campaign was designed for an ideological situation much different than that of "socialist revolution" and a condition of popular relationships quite different than one of class struggle.

1. Original Purposes

In early 1957 the press left the firm impression that the party was convinced it was confronting a new stage in socialism which asked for a new approach, and was seriously attempting to turn its cadres out of old ruts of thinking. Confronted with problems, if party and government cadres could be re-vitalized and taught how to eliminate some, handle others, and avoid creating still more, the biggest problem would be solved. In response to the question why another rectification movement was being launched, and what the difference was between it and the previous one, the periodical Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien (China Youth), organ of the Communist Youth League, replied in its issue of 16 May:

"Today we face a new situation. With the class contradictions in the country fundamentally solved, and those among the people beginning to emerge, we come up to a new task: greater unity among all

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of China's 600 million people, and the utilization of all possible assets in the struggle for the great socialist cause. But while the situation has changed, the ideological status of many cadres has not kept up with it. They have not discerned the emerging contradictions among the people, and are not used to the necessary methods of handling these. Thus, to speed the development of socialist construction, the party is beginning another party-wide rectification movement. It is directed against bureaucracy, subjectivism, and sectarianism, thus it has new facets as well as some in common with the previous movement. The range of problems encompassed by this present campaign is of course wider than that in the previous one, since the party is now the ruling party, and is leading the people in socialist construction. Also, the purpose and result of this movement must be different. The previous one brought victory in the democratic revolution. The present movement will guarantee success in socialist construction."

In that context, the Jen-min Jih-pao of 2 May stated that there could only be one attitude for the party cadre: "An attitude which is conscious, analytical, and self-critical, and which discerns on the one hand the unity and unanimity in socialist society, and on the other the contradictions among the ranks of the people; which sees the necessity for concentration within a given scope; which acknowledges errors and shortcomings in leadership; and which sees the need to broaden democratic life and criticism and self-criticism in socialist society."

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The editorial saw the possibility, without this attitude, of a tendency toward aristocracy and autocracy of a kind which would impede and stifle progress. The periodical Li-lun Hsueh-hsi (Theoretical Study) of 1 January said: "We must put an end to the separation between the party and state on the one hand and the masses on the other, and overcome bureaucracy and waste. Both people and party cadres must express their constructive and creative potential. There is an increasing tendency towards bureaucratic disregard of realities and neglect of the people, a weakening of the tradition of endurance and frugality, while pursuit of luxury and extravagance appears everywhere. This results in dissociation of party and state personnel from the people and reality, a way of life which wastes the state's construction capital and leads to subjectivism."

What the regime was aiming at was a goal quite high, given the circumstances. The same issue of Li-lun Hsueh-hsi described a good party member and leader as being one who aims at obtaining a thorough knowledge of the people's living and working conditions, understands the people and shows concern for their problems. He lives in a frugal style, shares in the masses' hardships, is willing to accept their criticisms, and refrains from putting on airs. He consults the people on all matters that concern them, they in turn will communicate with him. Elsewhere in this issue of Li-lun Hsueh-hsi a ruling giving party members the right to express creativeness was discussed.

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It described creativeness as a corrective to bureaucracy and to blind carrying out of orders without regard to conditions. Creativeness is best expressed, it said, in initiative shown in developing efficient working procedures. The creative person keeps a sharp eye on actual conditions and does not too literally apply provisions in party directives—yet he does not dispense with party guidance or instruction. The right of creativeness can only be correctly exercised by thoroughly learning and understanding party policies.

Chung-chih Hsueh-hsi of 3 May expanded on the kind of cadre the party would like to cultivate through party rectification. It asked, "Precisely what should a party member do, when he has clearly understood the different contradictions and the method of handling each?.... When the leadership suppresses the correct demands of the masses, he should firmly support the masses' views....When one-sided views of the masses produce unreasonable demands, leading to contradictions or disputes...he must stand fast and patiently persuade them to relinquish such demands....But things are not always simple. When one facet of a question is right, it is not necessary that everything else about it is right, and for a party member to tell the right from the wrong side is not always easy. He must rely for this on both the party organization and the masses. He must penetrate the masses, find out what they need, separate correct from incorrect views, support only that which is right, transmit mass demands to the party, and

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solve problems with the wisdom of the people. He should also know correct from incorrect attitudes of leadership."

2. Early Implementation

The development of the campaign in the early months, as reflected in the press, gave evidence of a desire to implement the fundamental idea of the new party rectification. The Central Committee directive on the movement, as in Jen-min Jih-pao of 1 May, instructed that it begin in hsien level party organizations and higher, and in large factories, mines, and universities, with these organizations looking into the thought and working style of their leading cadres. Meanwhile, provincial and municipal level party committees should select special committees to initiate the campaign for the purpose of acquiring typical experience which would assist in gradual popularization. All units must organize leadership groups for the campaign, it said, and personal responsibility and leadership should be taken by party committee secretaries. The campaign should be coordinated with the improvement of work and the solution of contradictions. Party committees were to formulate their own leadership methods and working plans for the campaign, and submit these to the Central Committee within two weeks after receiving the directive. The directive was followed by many press reports of meetings which decided on immediate formulation of plans for development of the campaign, in all areas and at all government and party levels.

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The 2 May Nan-ch'ang Kiangsi Jih-pao reported the proposal of a four-step program by the Kiangsi Provincial Party committee to expand the rectification movement, which stated there must be no delay in starting the movement or in comprehending the documents, and that it would be necessary to develop it from top to bottom, beginning at the provincial, municipal and special district levels, proceeding to the hsien and ch'u levels, and culminating in the hsiangs. It must embrace immediate, essential work, the proposal said, and avoid conflict between the movement and current essential work. The proposal was accompanied by a timetable for the movement, and stated the committee had selected people to draw up concrete plans to be passed on by the committee itself. The Jen-min Jih-pao of 31 May urged that all shortcomings and mistakes exposed in the course of the campaign be corrected expeditiously. It said that no one should await a settlement of problems at the end of the movement, but that units would find through study of problems brought up that most could be solved immediately. It warned that if they did not solve problems as they appeared, people would get the impression that departments had no intention of correcting their faults and the progress of the socialist undertaking would be impeded.

An official party view of what happened to the original rectification campaign appears in an editorial in Jen-min Jih-pao of 26 July: "After the party organizations in Shanghai had initiated the

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movement, the municipal party committee held a series of forums of the various classes so that all might present their views. Simultaneously, it began to take steps to improve party and government work. Democracy was active, the people's enthusiasm was high, and the program was proceeding normally. However, the bolder rightists, losing their reason in the face of their desire for gain, began to start fires everywhere. They completely overlooked the principles which the party had repeatedly laid down on the conduct of the campaign...forced the campaign off its track, and influenced many universities, organizations, and factories. It was at this point that the party had to intervene."

3. Party intentions

Even at the time of the National People's Congress, which was employed as a brake to the careening course of criticism, the two big voices heard then gave indications of a desire to continue the rectification movement. Mao, in his speech published in Jen-min Jih-pao on 19 June, affirmed the necessity to stamp out bureaucracy, improve ideological and political education, and handle contradictions properly, and thus get at the cause of disturbances. He said that if disturbances should occur through poor work on the part of the party, ~~it~~ the party should not only lead those involved onto the right path, but utilise the disturbances should occur through poor work on the part of the party, it should not only lead those involved onto the right path, but utilise the disturbances to improve its work, to educate

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both cadres and masses, and to find solutions to problems neglected in the past. The party should work carefully and avoid oversimplified methods, in dealing with disturbances, and not close out problems before they are actually settled. It should turn such events to its advantage in ridding itself of bureaucratism, he said. Chou En-lai, in his speech to the congress as carried in Jen-min Jih-pao of 27 June, stated, "The party's rectification campaign is also going on in state organs, and has the purpose of effectively overcoming bureaucracy, sectarianism, and subjectivism. All constructive criticism on such erroneous thinking and working styles will be welcome, even when prejudiced and one-sided. We will accept from it all that is beneficial and use it to improve our work. In the rectification campaign in both the party and the government, contradictions among the people will be steadily resolved as they emerge and mistakes will be corrected." He coupled this, of course, with the warning against using rectification to sow discord or sabotage socialism.

On the opening day of the congress, 26 June, the Jen-min Jih-pao also contributed in this regard: "Though we have made certain achievements we have made certain mistakes. It would be foolhardy to disguise our illnesses and not see a doctor. The party is carrying out a rectification of its working style, and is listening to criticisms on every hand...some think that because we must affirm our achievements and criticize the rightists it is impossible for criticism and self-criticism to be carried out at the same time. This is a misunderstanding.

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Active and well-meaning criticism of defects which speed up our socialist endeavors are different from anti-socialist slanders, and the better we can freely develop such criticism, carrying out self-criticism at the same time, and can point to mistakes, to their causes and their rectification, the better we can improve our work, the closer we can unite all nationalities in the country, and the more thoroughly we can isolate the rightists." The tone of the editorials through July also made it seem the party was trying to re-coup something of its original program out of the situation, though its efforts were mainly to stop the tide which had mounted.

On 7 August, Jen-min Jih-pao reported a speech to the Peiping People Congress by Peng Chen, member of the Politburo. "We welcome all suggestions," he said, "when they are made in good faith and are constructive, not destructive. Many such suggestions for improvement of our work have been accepted." He criticized the working style of party members in Peiping, observing that the same mistakes are to be found in the leadership. He itemized the six most important shortcomings, and discussed them at some length. "Working style should be conscientiously reformed," he said, "adopting methods used in the rectification campaign to fend off the rightist attacks. We must overcome shortcomings in work in order to complete the undertakings in the city and to speed up development of the enterprises, gradually developing the working style of the masses to achieve a pure socialist capital."

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4. Changing Concept of Rectification

In the changing ideological and practical climate, of course, the idea and function of rectification underwent changes. Formerly a single party objective, at the National Peoples Congress it acquired a dual aspect. The party now began to refer in one breath to this two-fold objective. Chou En-lai, in his speech to the congress reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 27 June, stated, "We Chinese people are forging an even stronger unity through our rectification campaign against bureacracy, sectarianism, and subjectivism, and through our victorious struggles in exposing and repudiating the antisocialist rightists." With Lu Ting-yi, party propaganda chief, the two aspects seem to merge into one campaign in his National People Congress speech, as reported in the 12 July Jen-min Jih-pao. He said, "The party's rectification campaign is also a struggle against bourgeois ideology. Bureaucratism, sectarianism, and subjectivism are bourgeois tendencies. No bourgeois party would ask others to expose its faults. Only the political partyof the working class dares to do this, since only a party of the working class can root out bureacracy, sectarianism, and subjectivism....We have no justification for concealing our mistakes and shortcomings or for refusing to rectify them. The rightists must be criticized unmercifully, and the rectification campaign must be continued with determination."

What happened in July to the concept of rectification can be seen in the State Council decision on the rectification campaign, carried

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in Jen-min Jih-pao on 27 July. It said, "Under the leadership of the party, our people are presently engaged in a rectification movement and an earnest struggle against the bourgeois rightists, to save the socialist revolution and the fundamental state system.... In units conductiong a rectification, all members must actively participate in the campaign and in the struggle. In it, they should take a strong stand, clearly distinguishing between right and wrong, and revealing and criticising rightist statements and activities, thus increasing their own political awareness and earnestly trying to overcome defects and improve work, toward the success of the socialist revolution and construction."

By mid-August and the launching of the socialist education program, rectification had undergone a further change. Politburo member Kang Sheng, in a brief reference in a speech reported by Jen-min Jih-pao 19 August, said, "Besides continuing our efforts to solve all outstanding problems, we must henceforth conduct the rectification movement and socialist ideological education."

5. Current Implementation of Campaign

The rectification movement was, apparently, being implemented to an extent in connection with socialist education, to judge by the press. In referring to the great countryside debate, for example, Jen-min Jih-pao of 10 August states that in the course of it "if the working style of a few cadres is criticized with facts" the party committees, which should be participating, should study the criticisms and take corrective steps, in order to improve work and strengthen mass unity. A

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Jen-min Jih-pao editorial of the same date refers to the great debate among the rural masses as "rural blooming, contending, and active debate." It says, "We must expose the real problems of the countryside by hearing all opinions, then select good ideas for implementation, and criticize the wrong ones. We must determinedly solve problems through reasoning and must improve our work. Those who think such debate suitable only for higher level government organs and schools, and not for rural areas show a lack of confidence in the strength of party leadership and the fundamental wisdom of the masses."

Central government organs toowere seriously considering the constructive opinions advanced by the people during the anti-rightist struggle, "in the spirit of simaltaneous conduct of the rectification movement and correction of faults," according to Jen-min Jih-pao of 24 July. Special groups had been established in units of these organs, it said, to discuss and analyze the masses' views, and had already handled a number of the problems which it was possible to solve immediately. A number of other press items reported in August that provincial organs were similarly improving their work inthe course of rectification, and that factory workers had presented opinions and criticisms in campaigns started in enterprises.

Thus the party has held fast to the idea of rectification throughout the "anti-rightist struggle", and seems bent on keeping it alive in some form, including, possibly some limited and controlled assistance from outside the party. Yet in view of the known attitudes of party cadres to

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this sort of thing, and of the inevitable reservations non-party people of all classes must now have toward speaking out, with the example of what happened to some who did freshly before them, any revival of the rectification campaign would seem of necessity to be a watered down version of what was originally planned, and will probably have to proceed without serious or significant critical "help" from outside. If this is true, and the party nevertheless pursues its goal of rectification of its working style, then perhaps it will continue more along the lines of the classic Chinese Communist Party rectification, stressing ideological remolding within the party, reaffirmation of discipline and consolidation of the organization.

Lu Ting-yi, in an article in Jen-min Jih-pao of 5 March had stressed this aspect of regularizing the party membership. He observed that in the past 15 years the party membership had grown from 800,000 to 12 million, and that many members had not joined ideologically or completely. Six tenths of the membership joined after the national revolutionary victory, he said, and had not experienced the ideological reform of 1942. Many of these did not understand subjectivism and many more carried over ideologies from the old society. As for the older cadres who came through the revolutionary struggle, many had soiled themselves with bureaucracy now that the party was in power, had become vain in their achievements, and had detached themselves from the masses and from reality. This, he said, called for a movement for correction of the ideological attitude and working style of cadres in the entire party. On January 13 Cheng-chih Hsueh-hsi asked "What is rectification of working style? It is a

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method by which the party educates its cadres, by means of Marxism-Leninism, to overcome all non-proletarian thought. It comes from the rich experience gained through the summing up by the party center and Comrade Mao of the ideological work done in the past."

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FUTURE OF THE INTELLECTUALS

In the face of all of the foregoing, a question arises concerning the fate of the intellectuals and capitalists, who were to assist the party in its rectification, and of their political organizations, the democratic parties of the united front. It would be unusual indeed if the attitude and policy of the regime toward them did not undergo a change of some kind. The concept of the united front changed drastically during the period from Chou En-lai's proclamation of emancipation for the intellectuals in January 1956 to the high point of its expansion in May 1957, and it appears due now for another serious reassessment. The nature of the parties' coexistence, if not its length of term, is in question, as is certainly the concept of "mutual supervision." Yet the regime invested a good deal of time and energy in bringing the class of educated people out of dormancy and trying to mobilize it behind the great effort. It would require very little at this point to throw it back into the situation which prevailed in the repressive days of 1955.

1. The All-schools Policy

It might at this point be fairly concluded that the policy of "let all schools of thought contend," is a thing of the past, at least as concerns real implementation of it. It originated in early 1956 as a means of activating the body of long-repressed non-Communist intellectuals and national bourgeoisie, a significant pool of talent for the industrialization drive in a country where educated or technically trained people are scarce. As then initiated, it was limited to the professional and scientific fields, but was nonetheless a real innovation which at the time was met with much

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doubt and hesitation. In this form it was in operation for a year when in February 1957 it stood ready for a new application: a means of bringing problems to light, so they might be dealt with by the regime, with the articulate intellectual class as vehicle. With this added function the all-schools policy as part of the new spring program received an impetus it had not had before, and produced the truly free discussion which was instrumental in throwing the nation back into "socialist revolution."

Before this could happen, however, the regime had to overcome deeply ingrained reservations on the part of both intellectuals and Communist Party cadres, and it worked hard at producing a climate of encouragement, as was demonstrated in the press following Mao's February speech. This effort culminated in the now historic invitation issued by director of the party United Front Department Li Wei-han, as reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 9 May: "People from all walks of life are hereby requested to present their views on the party and the United Front Department, and to criticize all steps taken by the party, in order to assist it in its campaign to rectify its working style. This is the first time in the party's history that the united front is being utilized to promote a rectification movement, and we earnestly hope that everyone will make criticisms....We hold to the principle of independence, equality, and freedom in inter-party relations, and maintain that along with cooperation between parties should go authority and responsibility. We insist the democratic parties play a greater role in state affairs. On these problems and on others, such as the work of the democratic parties' basic-level organizations, we ask everyone to present his views." It is not likely that anything like this will happen again for some considerable time.

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An interview in Kuang-ming Jih-pao of 28 June with Kuo Mo-jo, chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, contains sufficient internal contradictions to support the view of the policy's demise. He stated that as far as he was concerned, the slogan "the speaker will not be charged with guilt for his statements" was still being observed 100 percent, since as for those who were then being so charged the answer was simple--the slogan applied only to innocent speakers and not to guilty ones. He said well-meaning criticism was still being accepted, even though harsh. Roses would not be removed because of thorns, but though weeds have freedom of growth, the regime also has the freedom of eradicating them. The policy of all-schools is a long-term one, he said, and counterblows were considered merely a severe form of contention. The policy could be carried out in a proper and healthy manner only by eradicating all poison weeds, after which flowers might bloom more beautifully. With nonsense thus eliminated, the schools might contend more profitably.

Yet Mao, in his speech published in Jen-min Jih-pao of 19 June, spoke somewhat more liberally. He said, "The purpose of the policy of letting many schools of thought contend is to encourage the thriving of the arts and the progress of science, so as to stimulate socialist culture in our country....It is harmful to artistic and scientific growth when by administrative measures a given school of art or thought is imposed and another prohibited. In the arts and sciences, questions of right and wrong should be settled through free discussion in the course of actual work.... To find out whether an idea is right or wrong often requires a period of trial....Often really good ideas have been seen at first as poisonous weeds.... thus, not only suppression, but also lack of perception can halt the growth of new ideas.

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"Marxism too must develop through struggle, and it can definitely be criticized, since it is accepted by the majority of our people as their guide. Being scientific truth, Marxism fears no criticism, since it would be worthless if it could be destroyed in argument. Idealists and harborers of bourgeois ideas are criticizing it daily. Marxists must steel themselves in the face of criticisms and struggle. Fighting wrong ideas is like vaccination....Hothouse plants are not vigorous. The policy of allowing all schools to contend will not weaken but strengthen Marxism's leading position in the ideological field. As to out and out counterrevolutionaries and wreckers of socialism the answer is easy: we deprive them of freedom of speech. But with incorrect ideas among the people, it is an entirely different matter. Can we ban their ideas and allow them no opportunity to express them? You can ban their expression, but the wrong ideas will nevertheless be there.

"The bourgeoisie will inevitably give expression to their ideologies... in every possible way, on political matters. You can't expect them not to do so. We should not use methods of suppression to prevent this, but rather should allow them to express themselves, at the same time arguing with them and making well considered criticisms of them....Mistakes should be criticized and poisonous weeds fought against wherever they crop up." Mao here presents the six criteria of right and wrong in political words and actions, of which "the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the party." Of them he says they are intended "to promote, not impede free discussion of problems among the people. Those who disapprove of the criteria can still present their own view and argue their case. When the majority have

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clear-cut criteria to go by, criticism and self-criticism can be conducted along proper lines, and these criteria can be applied to determine whether words and actions are fragrant flowers or poisonous weeds. They are political criteria."

In his speech to the National Peoples Congress, as reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 27 June, Chou En-lai laid down a blueprint for the future for scientists in which he said: "There are two aspects of leadership over scientific work: leadership in science, and leadership in political ideology and administration. We have never approved of intervention by administrative order in dealing with academic questions. Our policy there is 'let all schools of thought contend,' one of solving academic questions through free discussion among scientists and through objective practice. Leadership by the party and government becomes more essential in the spheres of political ideology, guiding principles, policies, and plans." He also asserted that the initiative and creative genius of cultural and artistic workers and of the people must be brought into full play under the guidance of the principles of "all schools" and of "learning from the old to create the new."

Recent implementation of the policy has been confined to participation by factory workers and peasants, as noted in press items cited above, and appears in the context of the "great nation-wide debate", participation in which the press refers to as "blooming, contending, and debating." Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien-pao of 24 August urged Communist Youth League organizations in the countryside to calm apprehensions which rural youth has over such contending, and to encourage them to conscientiously express their opinions in the great debates.

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As early as last April, democratic party members at a meeting in Anhwei Province came to a conclusion on what the party probably had in mind as to this policy, one which may come very close to the present official conception of "letting all schools contend. The Anhwei Jih-pao of 19 April reported that "One discussion group suggested that some people felt contention must be based on the leadership principle of Marxism-Leninism, while others felt that this was too binding and tended to restrain free contention. However, after thorough discussion, most people agreed that Marxism-Leninism not only does not limit the policy of letting all schools contend, but is even a moving force in the promotion and development of science and the arts."

2. Restrictions on Intellectuals

On 22 June, as the party's drive against them was getting into full swing, a Kuang-ming Jih-pao editorial stated, "The problems which the intellectuals now face are those of their stand, their world view, and their need to undergo a process of continuous ideological reform....The current nation-wide struggle against the rightists is a golden opportunity for them to carry out this self-reform." A 25 June editorial in Ta Kung Pao gave industrialists and businessmen their guide. They must first of all face reality, it said, and by reality was meant the reality of the state and of the businessmen themselves. The people had realized that socialism could only be achieved under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party; if the industrialists and businessmen did not grasp this reality but tried to revive capitalism, there would be absolutely no future for them. Their capitalist ideology had still not been completely transformed. They must see to this, and also must discard their economic

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exploitation in the form of receipt of fixed interest--income involving no actual labor. Study would be necessary, but most important of all would be transformation of their ideology, feelings, habits, and practices through laboring together with workers.

One clear pointer to the future is contained in the decision that henceforth jobs for university graduates will be given out only after they have taken a political examination. This was rendered by the State Council and reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 31 July. Political Examinations as currently being given review the graduate's conduct during the anti-rightist struggle, including his words, actions, and opinions. The vice president of Peking University, Ma Shih-an, explained, "The political condition of cadres is important to socialist construction, and we cannot allow politically doubtful people to take on certain duties."

In another decision, the State Council issued a decree establishing new reform institutions to educate social misfits and lawless elements through labor, as published in Jen-min Jih-pao of 4 August. These institutions will be mainly factories and farms set up for the purpose. People sent to them will be paid wages in line with their work, and will receive training toward the acquisition of trades and skills, with the object of adjusting them to society and of making them useful, law abiding, patriotic citizens, the decree states. Inmates will consist of petty criminals, counterrevolutionaries, and other anti-socialist elements expelled from government organizations or other enterprises, as well as others so expelled for refusal to perform assignments, etc., or people who repeatedly disturb the work of others. The

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4 August Jen-min Jih-pao observed in an editorial that these types of people exist not only in society but in government and social organizations and in enterprises, in both urban and rural areas. "They are a negative element left by the old society," it said, "and need more time to reform. Though they constitute only a very small segment of the people, the harm they do to state and people merits serious attention. If we do nothing about idelers and harmful people, their bad influence will spread and disturb social order.... Careful study by the government has shown it is advisable to train, educate, and reform them through labor. This will assure them of a livelihood and a future. The method requires them to earn a living through their own labor, and will also help them reform themselves through that labor....Training, education, and reform by labor is not the same as the method of reforming criminals through labor....It involves the establishment of administrative measures and compulsory rules of discipline for these person by the organizations concerned. An inmate who makes a good record during his period of training, education, and reform, and who has qualifications for employment, may request release. The unit or individual who sent the inmate originally may also request his release by taking responsibility for his control and education."

3. Coexistence of the Democratic Parties

The 3 August Kuang-ming Jih-pao discussed the future of coexistence with the Communist Party. It said: "The desire for long-term coexistence and mutual supervision must be mutual. It is not enough for the Communist Party to want it; democratic parties must display a real desire for it, and transform themselves along socialist lines....How can the democratic parties

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have people's trust and confidence, or practice coexistence and mutual supervision? They can make no progress in anything, much less exist as parties serving socialism, if rightists are in control of their organizations....The workers will not stand for rightist utilization of the democratic parties for reactionary, anti-party, and anti-socialist activities....To achieve long-term coexistence and mutual supervision, the parties must put into practice the six criteria in Chairman Mao's speech."

The Kuang-ming Jih-pao, 29 July, stated that if the anti-rightist struggle in the democratic parties is conducted thoroughly, the politics, organization, and future work of these parties will get in step with socialism and they can then work for the people and serve the homeland. If they carry out their rectification movements deeply and completely, they can be more certain of a strong socialist political position. Since the recent experience has proven that bourgeois rightists use these organizations as bases for attacks on the Communist Party, it says, the supreme importance to the democratic parties of a strong anti-rightist struggle has been demonstrated. The social foundations of the parties is the national bourgeoisie, the upper petty bourgeoisie, and their intellectuals; thus they have a bourgeois world outlook in varying degrees.

"In some cases," it says, "rightists have controlled and changed the character of democratic parties, placing them in what is an anti-party, anti-socialist position, making them enemies of the Communist Party, and endangering the nation's interests. The most pressing problem of the democratic parties today is the crushing of this conspiracy. They must

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settle the question of their stand through the stern class struggle. For the democratic parties it is a question of life and death, and will show whether they can pass the test of socialism." It continues to say they must not underestimate this task, or think that a few reorganizational measures will suffice. The problem will only be solved when the parties cease to be a market for rightists, for which it is necessary to turn the majority center elements to the left, not halting before this is done. Also, to solve this problem the democratic parties must press the struggle to their basic levels, not only combating rightists, but even when no rightists are uncovered publicizing the experience of the struggle and the rightist state of mind. The most important task of the democratic parties is to remold the thinking of their lower level organizations, it says.

The 15 July Kuang-ming Jih-pao itemized its own errors in its role as organ of the democratic parties, and in so doing gave a guide for the future. It had, it said, distorted the policy of long-term coexistence and mutual supervision, overstressing the democratic parties' role in state affairs, and over-emphasizing "supervision" of the Communist Party, thus inciting the parties to resist its leadership. It had shown little interest in political and ideological work, one of the important tasks of the parties, and had implied that only the democratic parties themselves could represent the intellectuals and should supervise the Communist Party in their interests. Thus it had attempted to change the democratic parties' role as the Communist Party's assistant. Its reporting on the lack of regard for the duties of lower level democratic party organizations and leaders, and on the inadequacy of their functions, though based on some facts, was exaggerated and

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overgeneralized. The implication of much of its reportage on the various symposiums it said, was that the Communist Party was separate from and opposed to the intellectual masses and that they needed a champion. It had greatly exaggerated the abnormality of inter-party relations and had incited enmity between the Communist Party on the one hand and the intellectuals and the masses on the other, inferring the Communist Party mistrusted the intellectuals, and distorting the true nature of the great mass of intellectuals today. It said that the paper, as one sponsored by the democratic parties, is revolutionary and socialist, and the democratic parties are socialist democratic parties under the leadership of the Communist Party.

4. The "Intellectual of the Working Class"

At a meeting of Peiping teachers, Lu Ting-yi, party propaganda chief, advanced the new concept of the intellectual which apparently is to accompany the re-entry of China into socialist revolution. He said, according to Jen-min Jih-pao of 17 August: "History has given us the great task of developing a large, powerful intelligentsia of the working class...without which socialist construction will be impossible. The working class must have its own technical cadres, professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists, and Marxist theorists. Such a new intelligentsia may include all intellectuals from the old society who have really transformed themselves and who truly maintain the working class stand....To become a working class intellectual, one must think like the working class and oppose the thinking of the bourgeoisie....To train intellectuals in a socialist society by bourgeois methods is to isolate them from the masses, from reality, and from the leadership of the Communist Party, and to make of them

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bourgeois intellectuals....Although this method seems to demonstrate concern for the intellectual, it in actuality does him harm, and can never produce for us the large, powerful working class intelligentsia we need for our great task....We will rather employ the proletarian method of encouraging the intellectual to join the workers and peasants, perform practical work, live among the people, place himself under the leadership of the basic party organizations at all times, and be supervised by the masses of the people."

5. Future Utilization

In his speech to the 1957 "anti-rightist" session of National Peoples Congress, as reported in Jen-min Jih-pao of 27 June, Chou En-lai spoke at some length on the non-Communist intellectuals. He said, "Admittedly, there are a few highly qualified intellectuals, as well as some workers and employees, whose living standards have not risen as yet to the level they were on before the war, though they are better than they were in the years just before liberation. But since the living standards of workers and peasants as a whole are still somewhat low, a rapid rise in the living standards of the intellectuals is not possible." Chou also admitted that in some departments of government there have been cases where party organizations have monopolized the work and taken over administrative control, and that on certain questions the party had bypassed the administration and directly interfered with work. This sort of thing, he said, benefitted the work of neither the party nor the government, and should be corrected. He agreed that there were facts to support the contention that non-party functionaries in government, schools, and enterprises did not have the authority that should go with their posts. He maintained there were cases, however, where Communists and non-Communists cooperated closely with one another.

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He admitted that "Some party organizations and members show insufficient respect for the authority and functions of non-party people, discriminating against them or remaining at a distance, a serious sectarian fault....But some non-Communists do not put sufficient effort into the duties that go with their positions, or will remain aloof from party members and organizations. At the same time, the party leaders involved in these cases frequently make no effort to approach and help them. Both these situations require serious attention and efforts to correct them."

The obvious difficulty of implementing this, however, in face of the feeling recently engendered, together with the long background of party contempt and distrust for the intellectuals, is apparently acknowledged by Chou when he says: "The key to settlement of this problem is first in education of their members by party organizations toward the uninhibited exercise of the united front policy. They must overcome sectarianism and learn to respect, join with, and assist non-party people in their work, listening humbly to the latter's opinions and criticisms and absorbing their professional skills and experience, so as to improve both themselves and their work. Working methods which harm unity and increase misunderstanding must be changed. Meanwhile, non-party people should bravely carry out their functions, shedding any antagonism they may have toward cadres from the working class or peasantry, and forgetting their suspicions of party members. In working with them they should be sincere and open minded; they should criticize defects in work wherever they occur, and put forward any proposals they may have."

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And in Mao's speech, published on 19 June in Jen-min Jih-pao also as part of the move to halt "rightist" criticism by the intellectuals, he spoke of the several million intellectuals from the old society who had come to serve the new, and of how they might best meet its need. He referred to this problem as an example of a contradiction among the people. "China needs all the intellectuals she can get," he said, "to perform the gigantic task of socialist construction. We must trust intellectuals who are really willing to serve the socialist cause; we must genuinely improve our relations with them and assist them in solving their problems, so they can put their abilities to full use. Many of our party members cannot get along with intellectuals; they are haughty toward them, lack respect for their work, and unnecessarily interfere in scientific and cultural problems.... To completely change [the intellectuals'] world outlook will take a long time, and we must bring it about patiently. Some intellectuals will naturally show reluctance at accepting Marxism-Leninism and Communism ideologically. We must not expect too much of them. We should give them opportunities for appropriate work as long as they fulfill the state's requirements and engage in legitimate endeavors."

Thus, although at this point the intellectuals may have little to look forward to politically and materially, there seems to be at least one ray of light for them which comes from the same opening that was originally there--a really concrete hope because it is dictated by necessity.

Summary of Parts I and II

In an effort to stimulate and re-vitalize both its own membership and the pool of intellectual talent in China, toward solving the nation's mounting

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problems and hastening the achievement of its industrialization goals, the Chinese Communist Party in February 1957 had initiated a program based on an ideological development which (1) acknowledged the existence in socialist society of fundamental problems, or contradictions, and (2) declared the class struggle to be over with the then completed socialist revolution and transformation. The program took the two-fold form of "rectifying" party personnel and improving their performance on the one hand, and of granting the intellectuals more professional freedom and a role as critics of state affairs on the other. It had serious repercussions when the intellectuals took advantage of their new freedom to make fundamental and detailed criticisms of party organization and members, socialism as a whole, and Marxism-Leninism itself.

As a result, the party reversed itself quickly. The main tasks, party rectification and dealing with contradictions among the people, were supplanted by an all-consuming drive to subdue the "rightists." The party declared that a fierce class struggle still existed and would for some time, and revealed that among the class enemy were many workers, peasants, and party members. It announced the new situation to be one of socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, since only economic revolution had actually been completed. And it launched a pervasive program of "socialist education" of all classes in all areas, in recognition that political and ideological indoctrination had not been thoroughly accomplished in the past.

The goal of party rectification persisted, since the pressing reasons for it were still there, but in a confused blend with changing targets of

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the day: rectification of the democratic parties, anti-rightism, socialist education. The policy of allowing expression to diverse schools would probably remain for a considerable time a shrunken remnant of what had originally been intended. As for the intellectuals, who in China include people with a high school education, and the capitalists, their abilities and the need which had in the first place dictated the near heretical use of them were apparently still controlling. The party seemed interested not in retribution but in making absolutely certain they and their parties did not again become the vital, active political element they had shown they could be. But both utilization of them and rectification of the party were in the background, while indoctrination and the persistent pursuit of the anti-rightist drive were in the fore.

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